The Tunisian Revolution

A Revolution That Shifted the Arab World
Acknowledgement

As always, my first and utmost thank goes to the almighty God. Oh! God, you have been with me in those trouble days! Oops the word “thank” is not strong enough to express my gratitude, rather I will always worship you in my entire life. You have lifted me up out of that terrible situation. We may make our plans, but God directs our actions. At this time, I am thanking you not only for bypassing me from those sleepless nights, but also for giving me a priceless lesson through them.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor professor Antonio Trampus for his consistent supervision. His guidance was so immense starting from proposal formulation to the final point. To me it was a great privilege getting the chance to work with him. More over, to most of us, attending his normal classes were inspirational. Besides, as of my close observation, Professor Trampus’ personality and academic discipline is flawless that I learnt a lot from.

It is my great pleasure to get such an opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Matteo Legrenzi. I will never forget his contribution for the success of this work. I have got a lot of valuable inputs from his insightful guidance.

My excitement of today will not be full unless I leave some thanking-words to those who lent me hand at my difficult days. I have unpaid debt to Professor Fabrizio Marrella, Professor Massimo Khairallah and Francesco Grande.

How could I forget to forward my heartfelt gratitude to all my teacher of Master degree in International Relations and all the administratif staff of Cà Foscari University of Venice for their Support and their help.

I would like to extend my sincere thank to my beloved family for their unwavering support since (my) childhood. My parents: my dad Abel Hafid Garbaia and my Loveley mam Salha Ammar, beyond showing me unconditional love, they still worry for my safety like (I am) a little boy. My brothers’ and sisters’ support were innumerous. Especially, my sister Chaima Garbaia, she is always out there to encourage me morally, support me financially and enlighten me spiritually. Without their assistance, I wouldn’t reach here. I know my family always delights at my success more than I do. Of course, it is my primary target to proud them and to live for them. I do this because my real happiness extracts out from seeing them happy because of me.
Special thanks to my close Friends: Moz Ben Mosbah, Meher El Werghi, Yasmine, Marcello Onofri and Taha Gazouyani for all your support, advises and simply for being close to me in all the moments of happiness and sadness.

Last but not least, friends, relatives and loved ones, that I didn’t mention your names here, I do appreciate your all-round contributions in my stay in Venice. Particularly the proofs reading part and your constructive comments, at each phase of this paper, were far more valuable. I can not forget the hard times we went through together and the celebration we made for each accomplishment. It was energy for me to have such a wonderful guys around.
Tabel of Contents

List of figures
Abstract
Introduction
1 General Historic Overview about Tunisia
1.1 Tunisia since the independence until 1987: Habib Bourguiba Era and The
1.2 Establishment of the Modern Republic
1.3 Tunisia From 1987 until 2011: Zine Alabidin Ben Ali Regim
1.4 Manifestations of 2008: Strong manifestations Ends with fail

2. The Tunisian Revolution
2.1 Introduction
2.2 The steps of the revolution

2.3 The Main Actors of the Revolution:
2.3.1 Mohamed Bouazizi:
2.3.2 Young Unemployed Graduates
2.3.3 Cyber Activism
2.3.4 Civil Society Groups

2.4 The social and the political reasons that are behind the Tunisian revolution:
2.4.1 Uneven Regional Development and Massive Unemployment
2.4.2 Corruption
2.4.3 Political Repression and Lack of Freedom
2.4.4 Tunisia Post revolution: A transitory period and the establishment of the second republic:

3. The other Arab revolutions: The Arab spring:
3.1 The Egyption revolution
3.2 The Libian revolution
3.3 The Syrian revolution

3.3.1. How the events started in Syria?

3.3.2. The different players of the Syrian civil war
List of figures

Figure 1: A group of photos of The Tunisian first President Habib Bourguiba

Figure 2: a photo for the second Tunisian President Zine Abidine Ben Ali

Figure 3: Declaration 7 November 1987 President Ben Ali

Figure 4: Ben Ali in sudden visit to the hospital where Muhamed Bouazizi staying photograph showed Bouazizi swathed in bandages like an Egyptian mummy.

Figure 5: A group of photos of the manifestations of 14 January in Habib Bourghuiba Street in the capital, shows some of the manifestors taking one of the slogans of the Tunisian revolutions which is “Freedom” And saying to Ben Ali Game System “Game Over”

Figure 6: A group of manifestators Saying Clearly to “Ben Ali Dégage” which means “Ben Ali go out” This word used by the Tunisian and later will be used by the manifestators of the Arab spring

Figures 7: Photos shows the massive number of the manifestators in the day of 14 January 2011 and a girl leading the protesters with a paper saying No more for the ruling party RCD

Figures 8: Photos posted by Tunisian internet activists the day of 14 January 2011 showing a group of police attacking a simple protestor with their batons

Figure 9: A chart shows the rapid growth of Internet usage amongst the Tunisian population as compared to Mozambique, South Africa, and Senegal
Abstract

In this thesis I’m seeking to explain the reasons that are behind the Tunisian revolution and how the Tunisian youths succeeded to shift a strong political system and one of bigs dictatorship in the Arab world Leaded by Zine AlBidine Ben Ali with a peacful revolution without no leadership and no previous plan. Added to that, they opened the doors to the other Arab youths to revolt against their dictator systems like what happens in Libiya, Egypt, Yemen and Syria. So what happened in Tunisia spread quickly among the other Arab countries to become a serious of revolutions that what we call “The Arab spring”.

My thesis is going to be divided into two main parts. In the first part, I will folks on the social and the political reasons behind the Tunisian revolution and how a Simple protest started from simple street saler, named by Mohammed El Bouazizi, which starts at the end of 2010 has devolopped to become a national manifestations against a strong police system that governs the country for 24 years.

While in the secound part I will analyse how this revolution influenced the youth of the rest Arab world and make them following the steps of the Tunisian youth to revolt against their political systems. In addition to that, the second parts will analys the success and the fail of the other revolutions like the Egyption, Libyan, Syrian, yemenian and the Bahrainian.
Introduction

This theses which is titled with The Tunisian Revolution: A Revolution that shifted the Arab World I tried to turn bak to the events of the Tunisian revolution which started in 17th December 2010 when the Tunisian 26-years-old Mohamed Bouazizi burned him self as a kind of protesting against the economic and the social situation. The events developed to become a national manifestation that never happened in the modern history of Tunisia. The events did not stopped at the level of Tunisia but spread quickly amoung the other Arab countries suth as Egypt, Libya, Syria, Bahrain and Yemen to become known as the Arab Spring.

This work is divided into three main parts in the first part I will give a general historic overview about the Tunisia, while in the second I will deal with the events of the Tunisian revolution finaly in the third part I will deal with the influence of the Tunisian revolution in the other Arab countries.

Befour the independence in 1956 Tunisia have seen a large liberation movement leaded with by Habib Bourghuiba who has played an important role in the fight of independence which made the French colinazer put him under arrest several times and send him in exile.

His important role doesn’t finish with the end of the independence but it continued later on. Bourghuiba was the first Tunisian president and the establisher of the modern republic of Tunisia. In his period as a president he did many positive things in the Tunisian society. Indeed, he renforced the rights and the role of women in the society and established the foundation of modern republic. However the political life in his period was nowing with political restriction and lack of freedom which influenced later on the political life in the country and it was from the indirect reason of the Tunisian revolution. The second part of the historic overview of Tunisa deals with ruling period of Ben Ali who came to power after he organized a peaceful medical coup to raise Bourghuiba from the power and take himself the responsibility of the president. In its begening period as a president

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he promised the Tunisian with the change and a country of liberty and multi-party elections. What he promised did not happen and quickly dominates the power and continued Bourghiuiba policy of neglecting the opposition, political restriction and lack of freedom. In addition to that, his period knewed with corruption and the domination of his family of the country economy. That leaded the country to revolt to make an end to his regime.

The second part as I manchened I will folks on the steps of the revolution and how the Tunisian youth did a revolution without no leader and previous plan these part will analyse the reasons that pushed the protesters to went to the streets to revolt without carring about the dangerous situation and the extreme use of power of Ben Ali regime. The regime who succeed to controle the country for 24 years didn’t succeed to resist infront the youth manifestation more than 29 days. The reasons that pushed the youth to revolt were divided into social, economic and political reasons such us the lack of freedom, the political restriction, corruption, unequality between the regions and the massive unemployment.

This part also will deal with the factors which helped the Tunisian youth to creat their revolution such as the internet activists which were the eye which captured the covered things and show it to the public. In addition to them, the civil society groups from Lawyer, teachers, human rights activists and the Genaral Tunisian Labour Union and their important role in reinforcing the manifestations of the youths. The third important actor of the Tunisian revolution was the Young Unemployed Graduates which were the engine of the revolution. They were who organize the manifestations and among them were many victims. How we can forget the first reason of the Tunisian revolution and the Arab spring Mohamed Bouazizi who burned himself to burn the country and the entire Arab world. His act was the first reasons who pushed the youths to manifestate then to revolt.
The third Part will deal with the spread of the Tunisian revolution in the Arab World to become a serious of revolution and manifestations that shifted the political life of the certain Arab countries such as what happened in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Bahrain.

These waves of protestors become known as the Arab spring.

The phenomena of the Arab Spring let many researchers and followers asking many questions. How it will finish these waves of manifestations? What are the real responsible behind the failer of some country experience? Are there secret hands that play in some revolution in some country? Will countries of the Arab spring will reach their manifestations goals? What is the future of the countries who wasn’t in the Arab spring and still suffering from lack of democracy?
The historical Tunisian Time line: From The ancient Carthage to The revolution of 2011:

Ancian Tunisia:
Circa 1100 BC: Phoenicians settle the North African coast. The city of Carthage becomes a naval power.
146 BC: Carthage falls to the Romans.
439 AD: Vandals invade; Roman buildings and artefacts are destroyed.
600s: Arabs conquer the territory of present-day Tunisia.
909s: Berbers wrest the region from the Arabs.

Ottoman Empire:

1600s: Tunisia becomes part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, with a high degree of autonomy.
1800s: French and Turkish designs on Tunisia force it to tread a careful path.

French protectorate:
1881: French military occupy Tunis. France controls Tunisia’s economic and foreign affairs.

Independence:

Habib bourguiba Era:
1956: 20 March the independence of Tunisia with Bourguiba as prime minister.
1957: The monarchy is abolished and Tunisia becomes a republic.
1958: Tunisia joined the Arab league States.
1981: First multi-party parliamentary elections since independence. President Bourguiba's party wins by a landslide.
1985: Israel bombe Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) which head quartered in Tunis; 60 people are killed. The bombardement is in response to the killing by the PLO of three Israeli tourists in Cyprus.
Zine Abidine Ben Ali Regim:

1987: Zine Abidine Ben Ali took the power from Bourguiba with a bloodless coup: Prime Minister Zine El Abidine Ben Ali declared mentally unfit to rule and takes power himself.
1999: First multi-party presidential elections; Ben Ali wins a third term.

2002 May: President Ben Ali wins a referendum on constitutional changes, paving the way for his fourth term.
2002 September: Jailed leader of Communist Workers' Party, Hamma Hammami, is freed on health grounds. He had been accused of being in an illegal organisation and of inciting rebellion.
2004 October: President Ben Ali wins a fourth term with 94% of the vote.
2005 November: Tunisia hosts a UN conference on the global information society. Authorities deny that police have harassed journalists and other delegates.

October 2006: Authorities launch a campaign against the Islamic headscarves worn by some women.
2006 December: The Progressive Democratic Party (PDP), the main opposition party, elects a woman as leader - a first for Tunisia. She is May Eljeribi.
2007 January: Islamist and security forces clash in Tunis. Twelve people are killed. Interior Minister Rafik Belhadj Kacem says the Salafist militants had come from Algeria.
2008: Big manifestations.

The revolution:
December 2010: Protests break out over unemployment and political restrictions, and spread nationwide.
January 2011: President Ben Ali goes into exile amid continuing protests.

Post Revolution:
February 2011: Prime Minister Ghannouchi resigns, responding to demands by demonstrators calling for a clean break with the past.
May 2011: Curfew imposed amid fresh street protests.
December 2011: Human rights activist Moncef Marzouki elected president by constituent assembly, Ennahda leader Hamadi Jebali sworn in as prime minister.
June 2012: The government imposes an overnight curfew in eight areas following riots by Islamists against an art exhibition. One man died after being shot in the head.
February 2013: Prime Minister Jebali resigns after Ennahda party rejects his proposals to form a government of technocrats after the killing of an opposition anti-Islamist leader. Ennahda rejects opposition allegations that it was behind the killing of Chokri Belaid, whose death prompted violent protests.

July 2013: Assassination of opposition politician Mohamed Brahmi prompts mass demonstrations, a general strike and calls for the government to resign.

December 2013: After months of wrangling, Ennahda and mainly secular opposition agree on appointment of Mehdi Jomaa as head of interim government.

January 2014: Parliament passes the country's first constitution since President Ben Ali was ousted in 2011.
**General Overview about Tunisia:**

Tunisia have passed very important four phases which are Shaped its modern history: The struggling to get independence from the French colonization, the ruling era of the first president, Habib Bourguiba, after the independence, the ruling era of the second president Zine Abidine Ben Ali and the revolution of 2011 represents the important events that are shaped the Tunisian modern history.

After the French Troops invaded Tunisia on 1881 with the reason of protecting the country and the announcement of France government in 1883 that Tunisia is a French protectorate, a large movement of struggle have started immediately and lasted for long years and years. The struggle was at all the levels such as the armed, the political and the diplomatic. This movement against the French colonialism has produced elite from national activists like Abdel Aziz Thalbi, Farhad Hached and Habib Bourguiba which will lead the country to defeat the French colonialism.

So after strong popular manifestations led by the Tunisian labor union, the big diplomatic work by leaders from Neo-Destour Party, the External support from the Arab league, the United States of America and the league of Nations Franch find it self obliged to start a cycle of negotiations about the independance of Tunisia.

At the last two years of long negotiations between the French government and the Neo-Destour (New Constitution) Party, which was strongly supported by the labour unions; Tunisia gained its independence on 20 March 1956. At first, Tunisia has become a constitutional monarchy with Muhammed Al Amine Bey as a king and Habib Bourguiba as prime minister. Quickly the events changed and in 1957 the Prime Minister Habib Bourguiba eliminated the monarchy and declared the republic of Tunisia on 25 July 1957 like this Habib Bourguiba has become the First president of the Republic of Tunisia.

The Republic of Tunisia with its capital Tunis, which is located near the ancient site of the historic city Carthage, share the borders with Algeria in the west and with Libya from the southeast and its opened from the north and the northeast to the Mediterranean sea which gives her a strategic positions and an important role of shaping the history and the policies of the Mediterranean zone.

Since the independence the republic of Tunisia had two presidents who have had a big significant impact in the Tunisian society.

The first Tunisian president or how many Tunisian prefer to call him “The Leader” Habib Bourguiba who was on the leadership of the National liberation movement against the French
colonialism and the Establisher of the modern republic. Since he abolished the monarchy and declared the republic on 25 July 1957 Bourguiba dominated the government for long years then he was removed from his Prime Minister Zine Abidine Ben Ali in 1987.

Zine Alabidin Ben Ali was the second president of the republic of Tunisia after the independence. He came to power on 7 November 1987 after removing the first Tunisian president Bourguiba from his position through a peaceful and bloodless coup. Ben Ali has ruled the country for more than twenty three years until he was forced to leave the country in 14 January 2011 after huge manifestations.

Tunisia since the independence until 1987: The Establishment of the republic Habib Bourguiba regim:

Since the independence of Tunisia the country have entered in new challenge period nowing with the establishment of the modern republic. The man stage of that period was Habib Bourguiba. After he rose to power and his historic struggle against colonialism and after he abolished the constitutional monarchy, in which he was the prime minister, and the declaration of the Tunisian republic in 20 March 1957 Bourguiba rose to the top of the power to became the first Tunisian president and the establisher of the modern republic. Indeed, he established the foundations of a strong educational and health systems as well as good diplomacy. Moreover, he insisted to create a modern country of law and institutions and this clear from adopting a policy opened to the International community, supports and protects the rights of Women. Its true that in his period as president Tunisia has developed and started to cross its way towards the development but Habib Bourguiba era have negative parts which will influence the future of the country.

Who is Habib Bourguiba?

![Figure 1: A group of photos of The Tunisian first President Habib Bourguiba](image)
Habib Bourguiba was born in 3 August 1903 at the city of Monastir in the Tunisian cost (200 km in the south of the capital) he is coming from modest family. He moved to the capital Tunis to finished his secoundry school in the best secoundry school in Tunis at that time (Al- Sadikia). His staying in a warm place like the capital, whish was the event site either for the manifestations of the National liberation mouvement and a place where the colonazer shows its powerfull by making executions in public squares, teach Bourguiba how to be more nationalist and pushed him to adopt the idea of the struggel against the French colonization. For these reasons, he dicided, when he obtained his Bacaloriate in 1924, to move to Paris University to study Law and Political Science with the idea that he will use it against the colinazer. That exactly what is happened, so in the same year when he graduated he turned back to Tunisia and get involved immediately in the political life.

**Early entrence to the political life:**

Bourguiba starts his political career very early. Indeed, since he desided to move to Paris to study law and Political science with the idea that he will use his studies against the French colinazer was the first entrence to the political life. When he turned back to Tunisia after he was graduated from Paris university he joind immediatelly the national liberation movement through involving himself into the destour Party and joining two newspapers where he mainchened his political goals whish are laycity, modernity, and freedom from colinization. Like this he launched his political career as a destourian militant.

Since he involved him self to the National liberation movement, Habib Bourguiba, starts to encourage people to join the National mouvement throught entering to the New-Destour Party and he succsessed to enrol the majority of Tunisian from the countryside and thus create a more popular base to his newly formed party. He succeeded in a couple of years to set up more than four hundred branches of the New Destour. His capasity of organization, his capability as leadership and his dynamism made him quikly a soorce of disterb for the French colinazer. In 1934 The French colonial representative have desided to arrest Bourguiba and to deport him to the South of the country on the border of the Sahara Desert until 1936.

Once again, after the famous popular manifestations of 9 April 1938, Bourguiba was arrested this time remains arrested in Paris until 1943 when the Axis liberated him when they entred to Paris as ackt from them to convince him to support them. But bourghiba .however, contrary he declared to support the allies more he convinced neo-destour militants to support the allies hopping to win benefits from them after the war ended.
However France returned to Tunisia as its colonial master. And Bourghuiba and the neo-destour they didn't win nothing from the support for the Allies and specially France.

This was a signal for Bourghuiba and Tunisian in general to revolt against the colonial. For that reason Bourghiba change his strategy from supporting the allies and he wants to nationalize the Tunisian issue through addressing the League of nation and The Arab league.

**A leader of the National liberation movement: the fight for independence:**

Habib Bourghuiba Had played very important role in the fight for independence. Indeed, from its begining in the liberation movement was an important actor in the fight for the independence. He succeeded in brief period since he turned from Paris to reach higher position in the Liberation Movement. Moreover he has become a soce of disturb for the colonial power especially when he succeeded to establish a new Party which call it the New-Destour. Since he established the new destour, Habib Bourghuiba, found him self as a leader of the National Liberation movement. He was a point of reference for all the fighter. His strategy to face the colonial was constrasted in encouraging double armed fighter in the mountains and pushing people to manifestate in streets inside the city through organizing conferences, strikes and influencing worker with the help of the Tunisian liber union to fight for their right as worker. In addition to that, he was very diplomatic person and this is clear from his strategy of trying to nationalize the Tunisian issue from asking support for the Tunisian right for the independence by visiting important countries and important International leader.

After the Second world War and the promise of the French government to start a serious discussion about the Tunisian dependance, the French government turned back as colonial master for Tunisia

Bourghuiba have understand that fighting from inside the country is not enough. Indeed, he carried the Tunisian case to the United Nation. More than that, he meet with many International leader asking their support for the Tunisian right for the independence. Bourghuiba didn't stops here he addressess many Arabic country to support Tunisia especially after the establishment of the Arab league. In addition to that, he launched appeals for combat in Tunisia against Franch. In January 1952 he was arrested for the third time. In 1955 the president of the French Council, Pierre Mendès-France, pressed by the Algerian War, and the pressure exerted by the Tunisian recognized Tunisia's right to internal autonomy.

Conventions were signed in May 1955, and Bourguiba returned to Tunisia as a National hero. In March 1956 Bourguiba and a group of Tunisian nationalist profited from the sudden independence
of Morocco to reopen new negotiations with the Fanch government which led on March 20, 1956, to Tunisia's independence. In April the same year Bourghuiba was elected president of the Constituent Assembly and chief of the government of the Tunisian Monarchy with Amine bey as a king.

The monarchy didn't last much time. The constituent Assembly proclaimed Tunisia a republic in July 1957, with Habib Bourghuiba as a President. Like this he becomes the first president of the Republic of Tunisia. In 1959 the Tunisian constituent Assembly ratified the constitution, which established a presidential regime.

**Establishment of the modern Republic:**

On 20 of March 1956 Tunisia get its independence from the French colonization which is lasted from 1881 until 1956, the country entered in new challenge period known as the Establishment of the modern republic. The main phase of this period was Habib Bourghuiba.

Immediately after the independence Tunisia has become a constitutional monarchy with a Mohamed al Amin Bey as a king and Habib Bourghuiba as president of the constitutional Assembly and a prime minister. Quickly the events changed and in 26 of July 1957 the Republic was established to make an end to the monarchy. Habib Bourghuiba was selected from the constitutional Assembly as the first Tunisian president.

Once he rose to the top of the power, Bourghuiba, starts to establish a modern country of legislations and institutions as well as the western country. He folks his career as a president to fight poverty and illiteracy and to develop the Tunisian society economically. Moreover, he was named with a women liberal in his ruling period to defend women’s rights. One notable thing in Bourghuiba period was a good external diplomacy.

Starting from the sixteens Bourghuiba makes several fundamental changes to the Tunisian society through passing several laws that includes:

- Women emancipation
- Free education for all
- Family planning
- Free modern healthcare system
- Literacy campaign
- Administrative, financial and economic organisation
Suppression of the “Waqf frozen propert”
Building the country’s infrastructure.

In the early years under Bourguiba regeem, Tunisia was considered one of the most politically tolerant Arab countries and was an example for development. Often Bourghuiba was discribed as “the Supreme Combatant”, he long dominated his North African nation such us Nehru did in India or Nasser did in Egypt.

Bourguiba was a spectacularly durable Arab leader. He was also relatively moderate and pro-Western and did much to enforce women's rights in Tunisia. Bourguiba used all of his power to achieve a major gain for Tunisian women through establishing a "code of personal status" that protects and enhance women’s rights.

At the level of the external relations Bourghuiba have adopted a very smart strategy. whith using logical thinking and as a President he see that is logical to advocate restrain towards Israel, even after the Israeli victory in the 1967 war, when other Arab leaders were demanding revenge.

Some months before the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, he called for a "just and lasting peace," citing Israel's right "not to be exterminated and thrown into the sea." But in 1973 as in 1967, he sent a token military force to show his support for the Arab side. The Bourguiba government also let the P.L.O. set up its headquarters in Tunis.

Years of study in Paris and a long experience of strugling against the French coloniser had gives Bourghuiba a pattern of logical thinking and let him to be a big stategic and negosiater. He adopts the policy of steps. His tactics became known in the Paris press as Bourguibism.

Bourguiba, who had been the only president of independent Tunisia, acquired the title president for life In March 1975, after the National Assembly voted Bourguiba president for life, as an exceptional measure in the constitution for services rendered to the nation.

In the eighties Bourguiba consecrated his energy in combating both poverty and the backward fundamentalist Islamic movement that created a threat to the country’s National security.

But in later years, appreciation of past accomplishments dimmed with disillusionment over high prices, low wages and high unemployment.

- In his period as a president, Bourhuiba did many changes to the Tunisian society and put the contry in the rouad of devellopment. Indeed, his struggel didn’t stop with the end of the
colonization but continued to establish the republic and make her take the right road towards the development economically, socially and politically. Bourghuiba was usually described either from inside or outside the country as modernizer, pioneer for women’s rights and supporter of Arab moderation towards Israel.

The End of a political career: End of era:

Bourghiuba’s last period as a chief of state wasn’t too much positive. In his final years he was suffering from health problems which influence the general atmosphere of all the government. He was naming ministers and then in few months he fired them. His last period was known with instability and known also with political restriction. Added to that, and at the economical and social level the country was suffering from strong social and economic problem. The percentage of unemployment was higher, workers were suffering from law wages, and political was suffering from political restriction and lack of liberty.

In his final years in power, bourghuiba took strict procedures against Islamic militants, and he he ordered the death sentences for several of them. Many of Tunisian feared that if the order were carried out it would bring the country to civil war.

In November 1987, at age 84, Bourghuiba was deposed in a bloodless coup made by his new prime minister, Zine el-Abidine ben Ali, who declared together with Bourghuiba doctors that the president was too senile and ill to govern Tunisia.

- Ben Ali put Bourguiba under guard for a period of 13 years until his death on 6th of April 2000.

Tunisia from 1987 until 2011: Zine Abidin Ben Ali Regeem:

Who is Zine Abidine Ben Ali:
Zine el Abidine Ben Ali was born in 3 September 1936 he was the seconde president of the republic of Tunisia after Habib Bourghuiba. He ruled Tunisia from 7 November 1987 until 14 of January 2011. He came to the power in the date of the 7 November 1987 when a group of doctors declared that the president Habib Bourghuiba is unable to fulfill the duties of the presidency. On that time Ben Ali was the Prime Minister and according to the the artical 56 from the Tunisian constitution 1959 which gives the possibility to the Prime minister to take the place of the president in case of disability.

-There where two names given to Ben Ali’s rise to the presidency include "The medical coup d'état” and “the bloodless coup d’état”

On 14 January 2011, after a month of the strongest protestes that happened in the modern history of Tunisia against his political systeme which lasted 24 days and crossed all over the country, he was forced to flee with members of his family the country to their exile in Saudi Arabia.

**Education and military career:**

Zine Abidine Ben Ali didn’t have university diplomas and big educational level, he never completed the Secoundry School but he gets a military education in different countries that’s gives...
him the knowledj to achieve important position either inside the Tunisian military or the government.

Ben Ali has trained in two special French military Schools the first was Inter-service School in Coëtquidan and the second is the Artillery School in Châlons-sur-Marne. Added to that, he studied in USA at the Senior Intelligence School in Maryland and the School for Anti-Aircraft Field Artillery in Texas.

He started his career from military in 1964 as a Tunisian staff officer. After a Few years he established the Military Security Departement and he was its director for 10 years. Then he named as a military attaché in Morocco and Spain. In 1977 Ben Ali named as General Director of National Security. In 1980 he was named as The Tunisian Ambassador in Poland when he worked for four years. Ben Ali Turned back as to take the position of The General Director of National Security in 1984 after the strong Tunisian Bread Riots. On 28 April 1986 he was named as Interior Minister and finally he named from the President Habib Bourghuiba as The Prime Minister in October 1987.

Rise to the presidency:

Ben Ali come to the top of the Power after the famous bloodless Coup of 1987 When the official doctors of the former president Habib Bourghuiba have announced that Bourghuiba medically incapacitated and unable to fulfill the duties of the presidency. In that time Ben Ali was the Prime Minister and according to the article 56 from the Tunisian constitution of 1959 who gives automatically the the responsibility of the President to the Prime Minister in such cases.

Article 56: The Tunisian constitution 1959:

“In case of temporary disability, the President may, by decree, delegate his powers to the Prime Minister, to the exclusion of the power of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies. During such temporary disability of the President of the Republic, the government shall remain in place until the end of that disability, even if it is subject to a motion of censure.

The President of the Republic shall inform the President of the Chamber of Deputies and the President of the Chamber of Advisors regarding such temporary delegation of his powers.”

Actually the Fact that Ben Ali takes the power and become a President was organized.

In 1999 The Italian former head of Italian Military Secret Service SISMI, Fulvio Martini have declared to the parliamentary committee that “ In 1987 we organized a kind of coup D’état in Tunisia”
Bourguiba was considered unable to lead the country; his recent strict reaction against the rising Islamic party was too energetic according to Martini. He added, Bourguiba reaction may it will have negative aspects in neighbouring countries.

For two years the Italian and the Algerian secret services have worked together to avoid the growing instability of Tunisia and on the other hand to control the Palestinian activities in Italy.

Finally, the name Ben Ali have rised out as possible alternative for Bourguiba: As a chief of the Tunisian secret services and minister of the interior.

On the night of 6 November 1987 Ben Ali entered to the presidency Palais of Kharthege with the support of the small group military to guaranty the peaceful movement of the power, onother group of military went to the surround the building of the national TV.

Ben Ali put Bourguiba under guard in a villa in Mounastir for a period of 13 years until his death on 6th of April 2000.

On the day of 7 November 1987 the national TV announced that the inability of the president Bourguiba after the official report of the doctors.

Ben Ali Declered that hi become a president according to the article 57 of the constitution with a declaration named with the declarion of 7 November 1987 in whish he started with appreciation to the historic struggle of the president Habib bourguiba and in its the middle part he described the situation of the president describing him with the inability to fulfill the duties of the presidency, while in its last part he send a message to the Tunisian people considering that The Republic of Tunisia have entred in new era in which he promised that no long live presedency more political liberty and Free and transparent elections.
November 7, 1987
In the name of God, the Clement, the Merciful
We, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Prime Minister of the Republic of Tunisia, proclaim the following:

Fellow citizens,

The great sacrifices made by the Leader Habib Bourguiba, first President of the Republic, together with other men of valor, for the liberation and development of Tunisia, are countless. And that is why we granted him our affection and regard and worked under his leadership for many years confidently, faithfully and in a spirit of self-denial, at all levels, in the ranks of our popular and national army and in the government.

But the onset of his senility and the deterioration of his health and the medical report made on this called us to carry out our national duty and declare him totally incapable of undertaking the tasks of President of the Republic.

Thereby, acting under Article 57 of the Constitution, with the help of God, we take up the Presidency of the Republic and the high command of our armed forces.

In the exercise of our responsibilities, we are counting on all the children of our dear country to work together in an atmosphere of confidence, security and serenity, from which all hatred and rancor will be banished.

The independence of our country, our territorial integrity, the invulnerability of our fatherland and our people's progress are a matter of concern for all citizens. Love of one's country, devotion to its safety, commitment to its growth are the sacred duties of all Tunisians.

Fellow citizens,

Our people has reached a degree of responsibility and maturity where every individual and group is in a position to constructively contribute to the running of its affairs, in conformity with the republican idea which gives institutions their full scope and guarantees the conditions for a responsible democracy, fully respecting the sovereignty of the people as written into the Constitution. This Constitution needs urgent revision. The times in which we live cannot longer admit of life presidency or automatic succession, from which the people is excluded. Our people deserves an advanced and institutionalized political life, truly based on the plurality of parties and mass organizations.

We shall be soon putting forward a bill that will concern political parties and another concerning the press, which ensure a wider participation in the building up of Tunisia and the strengthening of her independence in a context of order and discipline.

We shall see that the law is correctly enforced in a way that will proscribe any kind of iniquity or injustice. We shall act to restore the prestige of the State and to put an end to chaos and laxity. There will be no more favoritism or indifference where the squandering of the country's wealth is concerned.

We shall continue to keep up our good relations and positive cooperation with all other countries, particularly friendly and sister countries. We shall respect our international engagements.

We shall give Islamic, Arab, African and Mediterranean solidarity its due importance. We shall strive ourselves to achieve the unity, based on our common interests, of the Great Maghreb.

Fellow citizens,

By the Grace of God, we are entering on a new era of efforts and determination. Love of our country and the call of duty require this of us.

Long live Tunisia!
Long live the Republic!
The ruling period of Ben Ali:

Ben Ali rise as a chief of the state on 7 November 1987 after the famous bloodless coup and he ruled Tunisia for 24 years when he was obliged to live the country flying to Saudi Arabia after one month of the biggest manifestations that happened in the modern history of Tunisia on 14 January 2011. The ruling period of Ben Ali passed with two important phases which are completely opposite. Indeed, since he rose to the power he started a series of changes that makes many Tunisian feel the changes. At first, he released many political prisoners such as the leader of the Tunisian General Federation of Labor, "Habib Ashour," and the leader of the Islamic Renaissance Movement "Rached Ghannouchi". Added to that, he makes reconciliation with the leaders of the Tunisian opposition movements. Moreover, he did many political changes such as canceling the presidency for life, the automatic succession of power and he enforced the right of women such as Bourghiba did.

However, the cycle of political changes didn't last too much and the policy of Ben Ali quickly started to change. He dominated the political life with his Party RCD; through disturbing some of the political leaders like what happens with the leaders of Islamic Renaissance Movement and the Tunisian Communist Party-

During the first elections that happen in his regime which happened in 2 April 1989 the RCD Party took all the seats in the chamber of duty and he win with the percentage of 99.02 percent in the presidential elections.

After the threats of the Islamists in Tunisia, Ben Ali reinforced his political and social restrictions. So, he passed a law that regulates frequenting mosques and he imposed that to close the Mosques outside of prayer times. And he prohibited the wearing of the Islamic head cover (hijab) in places of work and study.

At the level of the liberty of expression ben Ali reinforced the control of both the Tunisian and the foreign newspapers that what makes the human rights associations revolt against his system.

Political Repression and Lack of Freedom:

Ben Ali system was well known with the political repression and the lack of freedom. The regime forbidden any kind of manifestation against the system, the political life was completely died. In addition to that, Tunisians were not allowed to voice any criticisms of Ben Ali and his government either in newspaper or in TV which was owned by the system except some political activists who use the foreign media to critique the system. Moreover, The Independent organizations like The Tunisian Labour union UGTT and the opposition Parties had a limited space for moving since they
were not allowed to hold public meeting or engage in any sorts of public criticism of the regime. The freedom of associations was almost non-existent with some exceptions like the Tunisian league for human rights. The authorities represented by the Interior Ministry blocked access to several Internet sites and controls the citizen’s websites and private accounts not for security motives but for protecting the system. The regime has developed a sophisticated approach to online censorship. For example, the YouTube website was blocked in Tunisia.

**Police System:**

The regime of Ben Ali was known with its strong hand. He was a dictator police system and maybe the military career of Ben Ali and his long experience as General Director of the National Security Council influenced his system. The police during the period of Ben Ali was its hamour against the people. Ben Ali was responsible of torture of thousands of the opposition leaders such as what happen with the Islamist movement leaders. Many reports have shows the police extreme use of power against the political prisoners. In addition to that the police have influenced the normal life of Tunisian, Tunisian people haven’t good report with police as if it’s a tool of repression in the hand of the system. Usually, Ben Ali system used to use the police as a tool of threat.

**Corrupt System:**

Tunisians people became more aware after the reports of the international media and wikileaks reports that show the corruption of Ben Ali. It becomes will known that the president and his wife, Leila Trabelsi, together with her family ran a mafia like network. They controlled all major Businesses of the country. They succeed to control all the major sectors of the Tunisian economy such as, the banking, transportation, agriculture and manufacturing. According to a report send by American Ambassador in Tunisia Robert Godec which is published in wikileaks in July 2009, Ben Ali Son-in-Law Mohamed Sakher El Matri is the Tunisian representer of the companies Audi, Volkswagen, Porsche, and Renault. Added to that he have ship line cruise and several other companies. The big brother of Leila Ben Ali Belhasen Trabelssi lanched a new airline company Khartago which will take some flight from the national company Tunisair. Ben Ali allowed his daughter to open a radio canal which is Shams FM.

- Ben Ali corrupt system and the political and the social repression have influenced the general atmosphere of the country and leaded the Tunisian people to manifest against the political system like what happen in the manifestations of 2008.
**Manifestation of 2008:**

The events started in January 2008 in the city of Redeyef, Gafsa (300 km from Tunis capital) against the unfair recruitment practices by the head of the Gafsa Phosphate Company (GPC). The events were considered one of the first clear and open demonstrations against Ben Ali regime. In few days the events developed and the Protesters' demands developed to become political demands.

The events became too dangerous when the police opened the fire and have killed one of the protesters. The system succeeded to isolate the manifestation zone to don’t allow the events spread to the other zones of city and the whole country.

The events finished in few months and Ben Ali succeeds to isolate it in Redeyef with big work of the police.

**The Tunisian Revolution:**

**Introduction:**

The Tunisian revolution clearly constituted a real political surprise inside as well outside the country. Now one; specialist, observer or politician Tunisian or non Tunisian predict this revolution before. Of course many events have anticipated the revolution as what happened in Redaef (Province of Gafsa) 2008 when thousand of people have demanded their right for work and the regional development. But no one expected revolution like what happened.

This revolution which was not with no leader and previous Plan succeeded to shift a strong political system that governed the country for 24 years By obliging the president to flee from the country in the day of 14 January 2011 to his exile in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the revolution represents for the Tunisian an end with the past of dictatorship, political restriction, Corruption and lack of freedom and it has opened the doors for future of democracy and development.

By the end of this revolution Tunisia entered in cycle of political and economic reforms. And it was established plenty of political party and associations. Moreover, the constitutional Assembly with was elected with free elections has prepared a new constitution to the country that guarantees the personnel freedom and democracy and provides an atmosphere of political pluralism that Tunisian dreamed since the independence.

The Tunisian revolution, was main reason of the Arab Spring and if there wasn’t the Tunisian revolution maybe there will not be an Arab Spring. Indeed, it opened the doors for the other youths of the other Arab countries such as happened in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain and Syria.
The spontaneous and the sudden Tunisian revolution made researchers, follower and simply interested ask many questions about it such as how does it start? What were the reasons behind it? What are its important actors? What are its results? How it will influence the future of the country and the other Arab World?

**The steps of the Tunisian revolution:**

On 17 December 2010, a young Tunisian man named with Mohamed Bouazizi 26-years-old burn himself as a kind of protest against economic conditions and police mistreatment.

The events started when a female officer police, Fayda Hamdi, confiscated Bouazizi’s wares because he didn’t have a vendor Permit. Bouazizi was so angry and he didn’t accept what happen and tried to explain his situation to the officer but she didn’t care about him.

Some people who were there mentioned that he said:” What can I do now, Should I now weight my fruits with your two Breasts?” The female officer reacted immediately and slapped him in the face in front of all.

Bouazizi Strongly offended, and he went to the municipality authorities to complain and he asked to talk with the governor. The governor refused to see him, even after Bouazizi threatened to burn himself saying that clearly:”if you don’t see me, I will burn myself”.

His threatened was serious and after the refuse of the governor to see him he fired himself in the main gate of government building and in front of all. A group of people near to the events seen quickly take him to the hospital.

Few ours later hundred of young people and several member of Bouazizi family assembled in the same place of the events seen to express their solidarity with Bouazizi and to protest against the economic situation, youth unemployment and police abuses.

Quickly clashes between the demonstrators and the police have started and the events start to be more dangerous specially when the police start to use extreme force to make an end to the manifestations. Many images and videos of the protestors from one side and the police extreame use of power from the otherside where shared in internet throught Facebook. However, the national media did no reaction.

The protests continues for other days in sidi bouzid the police changed its strategy in addition to its extreame use of power against the protestor he did night operation in which he arrested some of the protestor in Sidi Bousid as an act to make an end to the uprising of Sidi Bouzid. The police didn’t succeed to make end to the manifestation.
The President Ben Ali started to feel the dangerous of the events and he ordred to move Bouazizi from the city hospital to the military hospital and he received members of the family of Bouazizi as an act to make the events stop.

On 20 December, young people in the neighboring towns of Kasserine, Gafsa, and Sfax started protests in solidarity with Sidi Bouzid. During the next few days the manifestations spread to Regueb, Meknasi, and Menzel Bouziaine which are cities on the suberbes of the city of Sidi Bouzid. Protestors responded to police violence by throwing stones, burning tires in the middle of the street, and burning official government buildings and cars. The police opned the fire on the demonstrators, killing two 18-year-olds, Mohamed Ammari and Chawki Hidri, in Menzel Bouziaine. Many people were injured, but the protestors did not give up. During the same week a group of young bloggers and internet activist’s fromTunis and other regions moved to Sidi Bouzid, Menzel Bouziaine, and other towns to join the demonstrations and to record and report the events to the country and the world. The videos were posted in the Internet and picked up by international media, particularly Al Jazeera Chanal and France 24.

On 25 December, the Tunisian development ministers announced urgent measures to deal with youth unemployment in the regions where the protests have rised. The protested did not stop and continued to grow and grow. In the capital a group of internet activists organized a manifestation in solidarity with the other regions.

In a couple of days demonstrations spread across the biggest cities of the countries like Sousse the second biggest city in Tunisia, Mahdia and Bizert. In Qrouuan for example there were news about night manifestations between hundreds of youths and the police. The results were several cases of injuries and some governmental intitutions was burned.

On 27 December, and for the first time from the events began thousands of people gathered in the capital Tunis. The protestes started from the biggest popular city which is “Attadhamen City”. The situation has become dangerous and the manifestations become national. The Protestors fired the main police office of the city and some police cars. In addition to that, they burned a Brand of super market owned by one member of Ben Ali’s family. Moreover, a group of hument rights activists, labor union and students organized a demonstration in the Place Mohamed Ali infront of the Labor union Building as a kind of solidarity with Sidi Bouzid manifestation. A group of young internet activists in the capital have filmed the events and share it with the social network websites such us: Facebook, Twitter and Youtube. The national press which was owned by the dictator system did not showed nothing as if there is no manifestations all over the country. The foreing press specially Al
Jazeera Chanel and France 24 was covering the events and shown the vedios and the photos of the Tunisian cyber activists. Moreover, they were inviting some from the Tunisian opposition leaders to analyse what is going on in the country.

At the same night of 27th December, Ben Ali, Addresses the Tunisian people with an unusual speech in wich he said: “A minority of extremists and disturbances …. This is negative and anticivil behavior…. And impedes the flow of investors and tourists which impacts negatively job creation”.

And he added that: “The Law will be enforced rigorously against these people. These events were triggered by one social case, of which we understand the circumstance and psychological factors and whose consequences are regrettable”.

And he finished his speech with: “The exaggerated turn that these events have taken a result of their political manipulation by some which resot to some foreing television channels, which broadcast false and unchecked allegations and rely on dramatization, fabrication and defamation hostile to Tunisia”.

Ben Ali’s speech was so general and planty of threatments to the opposition and the manifestatos. This speech was covering the reality of what was happening in the contry from dangerous events and cases of killing. He described the manefestators with a minority of extremists and he threated them saying that: “law will be enforced rigorously against these people”. The speech was not welcome by the majority of the Tunisian people and did not convence anybody. The protestes continued as it was, number of cases of death by police intervension and injered cases have increased.

On 28th December, Ben Ali visited Mohamed Bouazizi at the Burn and Trauma Center of Ben Arous Hospital as a political act to show that he is following the sitiation by himself. From this visit he wanted to assorb the hinger of the manifestator specialy those of Sidi Bouzid who consider Bouazizi as the symbol of these manifestations.

This presidencial visit to Mohamed Bouazizi, led the Tunisian press and specialy the national TV to speak for the first time about the events by covering the president visit to the hospital.
One Day before Ben Ali received numbers of Bouazizi family, the parents of Hassen Ben Saleh Neji, the young man who electrocuted himself and Mohamed Ammari the first teenager who was shot dead by the police. Ben Ali has promised families with some economic help and the investigation in their children death. The family invitation to the presidency palace was covered by the national TV and it was the main title of the newspapers. This invitation has positive effect to the regeem image and it calmed down the manifestations in Sidi Bouzid city center especially when all the invited parents have expressed their happiness after the president meeting and the president promises of investigations in their children death cases. In the days following this meeting, Sidi Bouzid was very calm city no more manifestation happened however in Sidi Bouzid superbes and the rest parts of the country continued to protest.

In Menzel Bouzayene which is a city 70 km far from Sidi Bouzid where there manifestation after a young unemployed man set fire on himself. Demonstrators’ response was with firing five police cars, a train locomotive, the local headquarters of the ruling party the Constitutional Democratic Rally and the local National Guard Post. The police response was with opening fire towards the manifestators and the Interior Ministry commented in the events saying: “Police shot in self-defence after being attacked with Molotov’’.
On 4th of January 2011, Mohamed Bouazizi died influenced by its strong injuries. After the announcement of his death, Protesters gathered in the streets and in the public squares across all the country. His funeral was one day later his death on 5 January 2011 at a small village outside of Sidi Bouzid. The funeral was attended by more than five thousand people and it was under police controle to make sure that it did not turn into a dangerous manifestation. Many National and international press and media have covered the funeral.

The death of Mohamed Bouazizi gives more energy to the protestors in Sidi Bouzid streets and the rest part of the country. Indeed, in the last two days before the announcement of the death of Mohamed Bouazizi the rhythm of the manifestation slow down. At Sidi Bouzid and its suberbes for example the number of the manifestors has reduced to the half comparing to the bigening days of the manifestations. This refers to several reasons which are; the dangerous of the events and the police extream use of power, the different cases of death, injered and Police arrestations. We can not forget the role of the intelligent political act by Ben Ali when he visited Bouazizi in the hospital then that he received Bouazizi family in the presidency Palace showing that his support to Bouazizi case. After the announcement of Bouazizi death, the events quikly turned as it was and stronger. Bouazizi has become a national hero in the eyes of manifestors and a symbol of revolt.

One day after Bouazizi death the 6th January several cyber activists such us; Slim Amamou, Aziz Amami, Soufienne Bel Haj and billel Skan were arrested by the police following to their covering to the events in Sidi Bouzid. In addition to the arrest of the internet activists, the police arrested in Sfax the Hip-Hop artist Hamada Ben-Amor, Known with the neakname “EL General” after he released a song named with “Mr.President, Your People Are Suffering”.

In Gafsa province Al Jazeera channel have reported that a leader from the Labour Union and the one of the famoust faces of 2008 manifestations Adnen Hajji was arrested. In additition, two of the opposition Party newspapers, Al-Mawqif and Al Tareeq Al-Jadid, closed by the police because of their covering to the events.

Over the following days the events continued to grow agin after it slow down. In the capital for example, a group of 300 lawers and some from laber union activists went out to manifestate near the main government building. The police response was with bloking them by force using bastons and tirs of gaz. A several cases of injered have recorded among them.

In Kasrin which is a province near Sidi Bouzid the events have taken a dangerous way with manifestations stronger than manifestations happened before. The police reinforced their crackdown on demonstrators and fired on the protesters. The results of the last 24 hours in Kasrin and its suberbes were Horibal. A report by AL-Jazeera and videos shared in internet showed the death of at
least 20 people. Al-Jazeera says six were killed in Thala and 14 elsewhere in the Kasrin region while the Tunisian regime initially declared only the death of two people, and then he increased the number to five persons. At the same night a campaign of night operation by the security forces in Kasrin have lefted more deaths and injereed and let the police to arrest thousands of the manifestators.

In the following day the number of the deaths case raised to an exagirated number to reach 50 people and more than 100 injereed. The deaths was divided 22 in Kassrin, 16 in Thala, eight in Reguab, two in Meknassi and one in Feriana.

A vedio by the “Nawat website” was posted Facebook and shared strongly among the internet users, shows scenes in the hospital of Thala, where there were the dead bodies and plenty of injereed people; a scene similar to war zone. The video left all the Tunisian shoked because now one was imagining the situation like it was. The video gives more corage and a push to the other cities to manifestate more. Also he encoregged the other Tunisian who didn’t involved yet to the manifestation events to join the other either by sharing the video by Facebook or direct participation in the manifestations.

In 10th January the government declared that it will invest 5 Billion Dollars in development projects and for employing 60,000 university graduates in the next 6 months. The Prime Minister Mohamed EL Gannouchi has announced that the government will create 300,000 job opurtunity in the next two years and university graduates will have the priority.

11th of January a group of artistes around one hundred of actors and musicians govered infront of the National Theater in the capital Tunis hold a peaceful protest. They were bloked by the police and some of them injred after the police used baston to block the peaceful manifestation.

The police continue his campaigne of journalists and artistes arresting. The protestes have continued all over the country and the number of injereed and cases of deathes increased more.

Many people shared photos and videos showing that the use of proffetional snipers that the system use to kill the manifestors. Many cases of deathes were founded shouted directly in the head and not in the other parts of the body. From another part the labour union organization talks about organizing a general manifestation in Sfax the third important Tunisian city on 12 Juanuary.

On 12th January the general Strike was done in Sfax many shops were closed from one part and from the other a massive demonstration have organized by the labour union, around 200,000 people, were in the streets manifestating against the regime asking more liberty and freedom. The regional building of the ruling party building was totally burned and invated by the protestors,
several police stations were also fired. The police responded with launching tear gas and some campaign of arrestation as usual. In the other parts of the country several manifestatiosn organized such as in Bizert, Hammamet and Ben Gerdan cities. Moreover, a news quickly spread about assistant professor in Tunis University, named with Hatem Bettahar, shot dead by a government sniper in the province of Douz. Ruling party main building in the city of Dar Chaban (Nabel province) was totally fired. In the Capital the manifestations continued specially in Tunis suberbes. The communist Party spokesman, Hamm Hammami, and the former political prisoner, Ahmed Lamari, were arrested. The interior minister, Rafik Belhaj Kacem, replaced with the former communication minister Ahmed Fria. The prime minister announced the release of all those arrested during the recent events. News shared in facebook about some of the presidential family has arrived in Canada. Ben Ali has announced the establishement of committee of inquiry into abuses during recent events, plus a second committee to investigate in corruption and mistakes by some officials. A curfew in grand Tunis (Tunis, Ben Arous, Ariana and La Manouba) has been declared from 8pm until 5.30am. The army becomes more visible on the capital streets and the other cities. A rumer about the preparation of other general strike that will be applied in the capital the day 14th January.

On the 13th of January, Ben Ali addresses the Tunisian people with other TV speech in which he promessed more political freedom, liberty of press and that he will not candidate in 2014 elections saying that:

“I have understood you all… I’m speaking to you because the situation needs radical change; yes, a radical change…

I understand the unemployed, the needy, the politicians, all those demanding more freedom.

I have understood everyone. But what is happening today is not the way Tunisians do things.”

Ben Ali announced that he had ordered the security forces to do not use fire arms against the protestors only in the extreme cases of self defence. In this speech, Ben Ali, used a part of the colloquial Tunisian rather than Modern Standard Arabic for the first time in his twenty-three year of presidency. Except that it was exceptional and very positif, the speech has shown Ben Ali weaknesses and perturbation. The majority of the Tunisian considered that Ben Ali promises’ were invented by the regime only to gain time and to gave Ben Ali system onother chance to correct his unfogeteble mistakes. Other parts of the people considered that ben Ali promises of change came to late. From another part there were around hundred person from different ages were celebrating
just few minutes after Ben Ali speech. They crossed the important streets of the capital with their cars trying to show that they are happy with this historic speech as an act to support the system and to break the rhythm of the manifestations. Ben Ali supporter quickly were filmed by the national TV and the video was putted as the second title of the News. The news reporter made some short interviews with some of them to give more reality to the videos. In the national TV and after the main daily news a big debate was organized with several famous political, artistes and human right activists to discuss and analyse the speech. All of them were trying to support the system describing the speech with the historic speech that will shift the political and the economic system in Tunisia.

On the 14th of January the real response to Ben Ali speech come from the organization of a massive demonstrations that never happen before in the modern history of Tunisia. Thousands of Tunisian people gathered in the Capital main Street (Habib Bourguiba Street) infront of the interior ministry building, the symbol of the political restrictions and the political abuses, shouting clearly “Ben Ali Dégage” which means “Ben Ali go out”. There were other slogan and demands such as “Freedom”, “Work For All” “Dignity”, “No For The Intervention Of Ben Ali Family”, and “Stop Corruption”. The Manifestation has gather all segments of the Tunisian society from lawyer, the option, human rights activists, women, youth, teachers, artistis,yong,old and in simple words all of Tunisien in a historic moment that happened in the first time in the Tunisian modern history.

![Figure 5](image-url): A group of photos of the manifestations of 14 January in Habib Bourguiba Street in the capital, shows some of the manifestors taking one of the slogans of the Tunisian revolutions which is “Freedom” And saying to Ben Ali Game System “Game Over”
Figure 6: A group of manifestators Saying Clearly to “Ben Ali Dégage” which means “Ben Ali go out” This word used by the Tunisian and later will be used by the manifestators of the Arab spring

The number of the manifestators was more than 400,000 people. This huge number which was not expected made all choked especially the police which were at the beginning of the day looking at the manifestators without any kind of reactions. Photos and video shared later on in the Face Book showing some of the police crying as a support for the protesters other photos shows one of the police hocking strongly one of the protesters. The 14th January manifestations were covered by all the international media and press without forgetting those internet activists or bloggers from both inside and outside the country. Many TV channels such as Al Jazeera Channel and France 24 broadcast directly the events from the capital Tunis almost all the day. By the end of the day, order given to the police to finish the manifestations after daouts that the manifestators will invade the main building of the interior ministry. At first, the police started with lanching the tear gas. Then, they started moving back some of the manifestators using their bastons. At the end they followed the protesters in the small streets near to the interior ministry cashing any body in their way.
Figures 7: Photos shows the massive number of the manifestators in the day of 14 January 2011 and a girl leading the protesters with a paper saying No more for the ruling party RCD

In the other Parts of the capital other manifestations were organazied. The protesters have attaked several companies that owned by Ben Ali family and burned it. In addition to that, they burned several building of the ruling party RCD. Several Cases of injuries happened. News about arresting of some of the sniper by the army. A situation of queas in the capital, the public transportation blocked, the capital shops and supermarkets were totally closed. Perturbations inside the police and the events continued to be more dangerous.
By the end of the day the police succeeded to push back the manifestators of the Habib Bourguiba Street. News shared that the president its family preparing to live the country.

At 5 pm the national TV announced that urgent news will be published to in few ours. Finally, The national TV have Passed the Prime Minester With the president of the chamber of dupities and the president of the Constitutional Council announcing that the from this moments the Prime Minister will do the duties of the president referring to the Article 56 from the constituition which gives automatically the duties of the president to the prime minister in the case of the death or the inability of the president.

Following a month of protestes that crossed the whole country against his rule and the massive manifestation of 14 January Ben Ali was forces to flee to Saudi Arabia along with his wife Leila Ben Ali and their children.
The Main Actors of the Revolution:

It is true that the Tunisian revolution happened suddenly and without a previous plan but also it has reasons and actors that participated in its creation. Actually, several are the factors that led to the uprising of the events which led to the fall of the regime of Ben Ali in the 14th of January.

The key actors of this revolution were Mohamed Bouazizi, the young unemployed graduates, the cyber activists and the civil society groups including the opposition, Laber union and Lawyers.

Mohamed Bouazizi:

It is sure that the fact when Mohamed Bouazizi burned himself as a kind of manifestation to his economic and social situation was the first step of the creation of this revolution. Many consider it the important event of the revolution and they consider that if wasn’t this insindent maybe will not be this revolution.

Turning back to the beginning of the cycles of the events when it happen the first manifestation at Sidi Bouzid we find that the first manifestation that happened was only to support Bouazizi. Moreover, the two days which are followed 17 of December was to support Bouazizi issue.

Followers of the Tunisian revolution still remember that the declaration of his death of Bouazizi on 4th January re-enforced again the events when it was going slowly.

It is true that he didn’t planned before to make a revolution but he did the starting step that was the shifting point in the Tunisian modern history.

In fact, the story of Bouazizi and his role has been a source of debates. There are a many which present him as the hero and the father of the Tunisian revolution. National and international press has shown Bouazizi as the hero of Tunisia. His name was manchened in the newspapers cover and dominated the headlines of the newspapers.


The Mayor of Paris, Bertrand Delanoe, announced that he will name a Parisian square or a street with Mohamed Bouazizi’s name. Indeed, from inside the country, Bouazizi was seen by the major
part of the Tunisian as the revolutionary hero that shifted the modern history of Tunisia and influenced the events in the North Africa and Middle East countries.

Many Tunisian, however, did not see Bouazizi as a revolutionary hero that shifted the history of Tunisia and they consider that there were other protestors are the real Heros when they set themselves on fire as a protestes against the regim.

What ever it was the view of the people towards Mohamed Bouazizi, he usually will be recorded as the symbol and the hero of the revolution.

**Young Unemployed Graduates:**

The young unemployed graduates where the neacluar point of the Tunisian revolution, they were the engine who leaeded the manifestations all over the country. They were the majority of the yong people who took the streets asking for their right for work.

The young unemployed graduates are those young who completed their higher education and have valuable technical skills and knowledge, but still unable to find work. The number of university graduated tripled in the last decade. The Tunisian Universities have produced more graduates than the job market need.

Statistics in Tunisia shows that fifty-seven percent of Tunisian ready to enter to the job market are university graduated. The youth unemployment rose from 22 percent in the 1990’s to reach 45 percent in 2009.

According to the African Development Bank, the upward trend in the unemployment rate of university graduates is the consequence of the youth growing, the huge number of students, a mismatch between the market demand and the university supply of skilled workers, and the relatively low quality of training received by many graduates.

Many of the Tunisian hight graduates youths were doing irregular jobs such us, construction, foreing call centers and waters. Other part of them which was less lucky become involved in cross-border trade specialy the borders of Libya and Algeria. Left with no opportunities for work, many young graduates find the solution in the immigration from the country. Several of them migrated to other countries in the region and in Europe.

Indeed, it is not surprising that the young unemploleyed graduates become the main actors of the Tunisian revolution. They are young, full of energy and knowledgeable, but they didn’t have
work or future promises for job. Except of their economic problem unemployed person specially for long duration feel invaluable.

The problem of unemployed youth’s graduates has become heavier when the government left those youth without any kind of support. The government didn’t launched serious researches to study this phenomenon and to find radical solution for it.

Moreover, the spread of corruption among all the Tunisian administrations has complicated more the situation. In fact, to work in the public sector in Tunisia has reached the point that you pay to find the job.

The spread of corruption, the lack of the support from the government and the lack of plan to resolve the unemployed youth graduates have lead the youths to explode when they found the opportunity which where the events of the Tunisian revolution. So during the twenty-nine days of protesters, the young unemployed graduates revolted against the system using their skills and knowledge to push away the system obliging him fleeing from the country.

**Cyber Activism:**

In addition to the young youth graduates the cyber activism were an important factor of the Tunisian revolution their role were more than important in covering the manifestations and sharing the videos to show the reality like it was. They faced a system that usually was a symbol of press restriction, that system who controls the media for long time in Tunisia.

In fact, the Tunisian revolution was fought not only in the streets but also in the virtual world such forums, blogs, facebook pages and Twitter. The young used the online space during the revolution to show the reality of events in Sidi Bouzid and all over the country while the national print and media which are controlled by the system were completely ignoring the popular uprising.

The early development of the internet in Tunisia was so fast; there are internet cafes everywhere in the country. The number of the internet user is increasing monthly. Statistics showed that the number of the internet user in Tunisia was higher. The internet users were 2.8 million users in 2009 and have reached 3.6 millions users by March 2011.

The Tunisian authorities limited the use of the internet by censoring the internet for many years. The video sharing websites, such as Youtube and Dailymotion were totally blocked. While the social network sites like Facebook and Twitter were shut down periodically.
During the revolution cyber activists have launched a cyber war counter the regime who controls strongly the Tunisian media. They were fighting for the freedom of expression. Moreover they were the eyes of the revolution they changed to a reporter with the total absence of the media especially during the beginning day.

![Figure 9: A chart shows the rapid growth of Internet usage amongst the Tunisian population as compared to Mozambique, South Africa, and Senegal](image)

In 6 January 2011 the government blocked more than one hundred blogs in addition to many other websites. Several cyber activists were arrested by the police. They were accused of hacking government websites with an international online group known as Anonymous.

According to The best and the well known Tunisian cyber activists Slim Amamou in a TV programme launched after the revolution and after a question from the TV presenter how did you get involved in the events of the revolution he declared that:

“\[I\ am\ a\ member\ of\ the\ social\ network\ Twitter,\ and\ on\ December\ 18,\ 2010,\ I\ saw\ the\ information\ about\ the\ uprisings\ in\ Sidi\ Bouzid\ and\ the\ Internet\ postings\ made\ by\ Ali\ Bouazizi,\ the\ cousin\ of\ Mohamed\ Bouazizi.\ I\ saw\ videos\ of\ people\ saying\ that\ they\ wanted\ to\ work\ and\ they\ wanted\ freedom.\ Because\ I\ am\ an\ activist\ for\ freedom\ of\ expression...\ I\ became\ interested\ in\ the\ events\ in\ Sidi\ Bouzid.\ I\ was\ already\ working\ with\ a\ group\ of\ activists\ on\ issues\ of\ freedom\ of\ expression\ and\ I\ decided\ to\ engage\ our\ group\ in\ publicizing\ the\ events\ in\ Sidi\ Bouzid.\ I\ went\ down\ to\ Sidi\ Bouzid\ with\ a\ few\ colleagues\ and\ we\ made\ our\ own\ videos\ of\ the\ events\ in\ Sidi\ Bouzid,\ Kasserine,\ and\]
other areas. We placed our information on the web, which was immediately picked up by people all over the country and by the international media”.

This declaration shows the important role of those people who was the reporters of the revolution. Those who participated in the spread of the revolution from its bigining through their cameras and computers as new technique of manifestation in a country that suffers from the media restriction.

**Civil Society Groups:**

One of the important actors of the Tunisian revolution are the civil society groups which are the opposition, the Laber union and the Laywer associations.

It is true that the the civil society were quite absent in the Tunisian political life before the events starts. Their role wasn’t quite notobil. Some times we hear about them in some foreing newspapers or in some TV programs of Al Jazeera channal or France 24. They were more active inside the universities like the University of La Manouba which were organizing from time to time some manifestations to defend the students’ rights. Indeed, this is not refers to them, or they was lazy but they were under the arrest or living outside of the country in their exile.

During the revolution was so clear the influence of the lawyers inside the manifestations. The Laywers have moved the manifestations from the public squares to the couthouses in Tunis and other cities across the country. In 31 of December 2010 the Lawyers association of sfax called for national manifestation to support Sidi Bouzid and to defend human rights.

In the capital hundres of lawyers dresses treir robes gather infront of the headquerts of the government but were violently beaten by the police.

Civil society groups composed of teachers and journalists joined the lawyers in supporting the demonstrations. As the conflict become nationa the opposition political parties joing too the manifestations.

The Tunisian General Labour Union (UGTT) at the begening decided to play a mediating role between the government and the manefestators. The events quikly changed local and regional labour unions decided to join the youth and have forced the leadership of the UGTT to call for peaceful marches against police repression in support for the Youngs demands.

The participation of UGTT was very important it helped in the broading such a national coalition against the system. Quikly the labour union has become in the leadind of the manifestators when he organized the big regional manifestation of Sfax the day 11 January and he succeeded to reorganize
another massive manifestation in the capital Tunis The day of 14th January 2011 which obliged Ben Ali to leave the countries ending a long period as a chief of state.

The social and the political reasons that are behind the Tunisian revolution:

Of course The Tunisian revolution which exploded suddenly after the young Tunisian Mohammed Bouazizi 26-years-old burned himself as a kind of manifestation to his economic and social situation has many reasons.

Regional inequality and Massive Unemployment:

The Uneven regional development traces its origins back to the period of the French colonisation then to the period of the first Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba and continued with the president Ben Ali.

The interior cities of Tunisia were suffering from lack of development and infrastructure and that led to lack of investments which led to high unemployment. The wrong strategy which adopted by Ben Ali have complicated the situation more and more. All the projects were constrained in the north of the country and the costs. In fact, the difference between regions was so clear. This due to the lack of researches and the absence of the political initiatives.

The popular dissatisfaction was especially grave in the central and eastern regions of the country, such as Sidi Bouzid, Gafsa, Kasserine, Jendouba, and Kef, which had been completely neglected by the government.

The neo-liberal economic policies of the old regimes reinforced the uneven development and concentrated wealth in the northern and eastern coastal regions of the country. The statistics showed clearly the differences between the regions. Interior regions have high percentage of unemployment comparing with the northern and the coastal region. The central and western regions, where the revolt began, have experienced extremely high rates of unemployment; poverty rates are four times higher than those in the rest of the country.

The regime of Ben Ali did not make any efforts to public investment in these regions; instead, it offered tax breaks for those who want to invest in the northern regions of the country.
Unequal regional development and massive unemployment were one of the strong social reasons that guided the Tunisian youth to revolt against Ben Ali.

Even before the 2010 protests in Sidi Bouzid, The country has seen similar revolt, Redaef 2008, which was it basic reason the nequallity between the regions and the higher persontage of unemployment.

**Corruption:**

The Tunisian have suffered a lot from the corrupt system. Corruption which spread in the society tottaly and it tooched the all the feature of the economic and social life.

Starting from those who are in the hight position whence sell the country with shady deals in which the corruption played big role in shifting the rights from one investor to another.

In 2009 and after the Wikiliks reports wchich sent by the American Ambasador in Tunisia, Tunisian become more familiar with the corruption of Ben Ali and member of his wife family. In fact, they dominate the economic cycle of Tunisia. They owned the most important economic projects of the country.

Accordind to the US Ambassador, Robert Godec, Ben Ali family’s controlled all major businesses from, technology through banking to manufacturing, transportation agriculture and food processing.

Reports have shown that Ben Ali’s son-in-law, Mohamed Sakher El Materi owns a shipping cruise line several estate companies and he representing Audi, Volkswagen, Porche and Renaul companies in Tunisia.

Leila Ben Ali big brother Bel Hassen Trabelsi lanched an airline company “Khartagho Airlines” which obliged the national company Tunisair to give hear its interior market.

The Tunisian sociologist, Slaheddine Ben Fredj, declared in his Ben Ali and its family discouraged forieng investment and economic gowth evrything refers to the family.

The Tunisian middle was excluded and limited with the small privet projects that can not develop too much the economic situations of the country.

**Political Repression and Lack of Freedom:**

In the period of ben Ali the country was very famous with the political restriction and the lack of freedom. From the begening of his ruling period Ben Ali and its Political party the democratic
constitutional rally RCD have dominates the political life through the exclusion of the other party in the country.

Thousands of the Islamist party Alnahda were followed and arrested by the police the other lived the country to avoid the arrest and the political abuse found theirselves in exile as a political refugees.

In addition to that, Tunisian were not allowed to any kind of criticism of Ben Ali or his government and who try will find himself under arrest. Human rights activists, journalist and number of the opposition were well followed by the system police.

The legislation used to limit the political life and to control the editors. No newspaper was outside of the control of the system.

Freedom of expression was absent under Ben Ali regime. The media was will controlled by the system. The system was controlling the internet cites. The youtube and the Dailymotion websites for example were bloked.

The opposition parties and the independent organizations have limited space to work. They aren’t allowed to speak in public or to organize political manifestations.

The opposition has suffered a lot under the regime of Ben Ali. Many are those which were a political prisoner.

The influence of the Tunisian revolution in the Arab countries:

Introduction:

After the uprising of the manifestations in Tunisia which started with the incident of the street vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, on 17 December 2010, and which was followed by 29 days of political revolt that resulted the end of the regime of Zine ABDin Ben Ali on 15 January 2011, the Tunisian Revolution was followed by strong strikes and manifestations in Egypt, which practically led to the long term president, Hosni Mubarak, to leave his office. Protesters in Pearl Square in Bahrain followed; it turned violent and was suppressed. Same story happened in Yemen against Ali Abdallah Saleh regime.

In Libya, simple manifestations developed to become a civil War which led to the assassination of Moamer Gaddafi on 20 October 2011. The NATO intervened in the Libyan issue in the side of the protesters.
In Syria a similar story to the libian scenario happened a massive demonstrations cross all over the country and political system leded by Bachar Assad response with extreame use of power. The country entered in a civil war.

Many Other Arab countries have seen some manifestations but weren’t developed to a national revolution such as what’s happen in Algeria, Morooco, Irak, Sudan and Saudi Arabia.

The Arab spring has considered as chainging point in the political modern history of the countries of North Africa and the Middle East region

The success of the Tunisian revolution lead the other Arab countries trying to revolt following the Tunisian to reach democracy and feel the political freedom that they were hoping to reach it since the end of the colinazation period.

The waves of the manifestations in the Arab world that followed the successful of the Tunisian revolution have changed the feature of the Arab zone. Indeed, this series of revolutions have created problems as they succeeded to change the long term political systems which dominates the political life of the MENA region.

The same events that happened during the Tunisian revolution and repeated in all the countries of the Arab Spring have showed the similarity of the Arab regimes.

The quick spread that the Tunisian revolution found has showing that the need of the Arab people to a real democracy.

**The Egyption Revolution:**

At the beginning of the 2011 many young Egyption were fed up with Hosni Mubarak’s regime which leaded the country for long time. This regime was responsebal for the political restriction, the lack of freedom and the grave economic condition.

Statistics showed that 40 per cent of the Egyptians living on less than 2 dollars per day and more than three million young Egyption unemployed. The hared the emergency law that restrict people personal rights and send civilians to the military courts.

Two events in 2010 had heitned the sense of crisis. In June a young man was brutaly butten untel his death by Alexandria police.through the facebook the internet activists shared the deatails of the event. The second event was that the ruling party the Nationa Democratic Party NDP wins almost all the seats in the people’s assembly.
The internet activist’s inspired with what’s happen in Tunisia and they went online to call for a day of protest on 25 January 2011.

While the internet activists and the civil society groups preparing for the 25 January manifestations, the ruling’s NDP officials, worked in discourage people from participation in the protest. They described the organizer with spies and agents working for foreign powers. In the day of the protest the government blocked Facebook and Twitter.

When protesters assembled on January 25, the streets were initially blocked by the security forces. Some protesters tried to break the security lines but were beaten and arrested. Later in the afternoon from the same day security officers let the protesters to reach Tahrir Square. Thousands of people were there calling clearly for the regime fall. This manifestation was particular and happen for the first time of the Egyptian modern history because for the first time Secularists, socialists and Islamists walking together and demanding change.

At the end of the day many people left back to their homes some decided to stay and start non finished set-in. There were police attempts to clear them out from the square. The police used all what he have from tear gas and water cannons to kick out the manifestators from the square. Reports announced that more than 860 people were arrested in two days.

At January 25, the protests wasn’t only in the capital Cairo but also in there were manifestations in Aswan, Ismailiya and Mahalla. Internet activists didn’t stop in the day of 25 but they continued their struggle by calling for another strike at Friday 28 of January which called it the Day of Anger. The response of the government as usual was by closing the access to the social network Facebook and Twitter. The Muslim Brotherhood, the largest organized opposition group officially entered to the events and encouraged its youth to participate in the Friday Day of Anger manifestation.

The selection of the Friday as a day of protest was very intelligent because Friday is a good day to bring huge number of protesters because at midday thousand of people going out from the mosque after the Friday prayer. This is what happens on Friday 28 of January 2011, people left the mosques and took the way towards the main squares. In the different parts of Egypt such as Cairo, Alexandria, Suez, Ismailiya and Sinai. Protestors were from all the ages, from both sexes and the different social classes. They all cried “The people want to topple the regime”.

In Cairo which have 20 million abitant people came from all the parts of the capital passing from the principal streets towards he Tahrir Square. The police used all what they have of power to push back the protestors and blocked them from reaching the square.
This aggressive tactics of the police changed the peaceful protests into violent confrontations. Protesters defended themselves by launching the stones towards the police. And the police used the tear gaz and the water. By the end of the day tens of protesters were killed by bullets or run over by the armored police vehicles, hundreds where bodily injured.

The day 28 was a turning point in the history of the Egyption revolution. The day events led the government to apply curfew and the army to deploy everywhere.

Actually the army was called to reinforce the police forces in the confrontation of the protesters. However Army refused to shoot the protestors. The protestors welcomed the army giving them flowers and chanting “we are all Egyptians”. Protestors make it clear that hey are against Mubarak and its system not the military.

The protestors in Tahrir Square broked the barrier of fear from the system and broking the curfew.

Mohammed El Baradei, the former director of the International Atomic Energy (IAEA) commented: “This week Egyption people broke barrier of fear, and once that is broken there is no stopping again”.

When Baradei turned bacj to the country to support the manifestators the government puted him under house arrest. Baradei asked Mubarak to quit and he proposed a transitional government.

In the evening of the 28 of January Mubarak addresses the Egyptians for the first time from the events began. He several governmental changes such as the interior minister represented by the minister Habib El-Adly.

At the 29 January proters including the family of those who was killed in the protetors in a scenario similar to what happen in Tunisia few days before tried to protest infront of the interior ministry near the tahrir Square. They were bloked by the police but they didn’t turned back the police opned the fire and lef more 15 person die. The government blamed the opposition parties by saying they are working with foreing powers which wants to destroy the country security.

On 31 of January internet Activistes called for million man protest in the followind days to pressure Mubarak regeme to leave. As usualy, the government took actions to break the one million march. The government started with stopping the train and the bus lines to didn’t let the people coming from outside the Cairo. In addition to that they cut off the mobile line service and stopped the internet. However, the government technics didn’t stopes the angry protestors who were more interested from any time before to fall down the regim of Mubarek. The protestors didn’t reach one
million but they was aaround 200.000 protested peacefully to let all now that they want only Mubarak to leave.

On the 1st of February, Mubarak addressed for the second time the Egyption declaring That he will finish his term and then he will leave the presedency. He suggested to introduce constitutional reforms to ensure a peaceful transition and leave a stable condition to the new government. He remaind the Egyption about his long term service in the working in the country and his desesion to live and die in Egypt.

In the Tahrir square 200.000 persons were repeting together “Live Live”. Protestors didn’t want Mubarak to stay as a chief of state for more 8 monthes in addition they didn’t trast him to be in charge of democratic transition.

On the 2nd of February, the government showed onother tecnic to face the protestors with organizing protestors who support Mubarak to show that he still has wide suppoeter base. The national media announced that millions supporting Mubarak. But in the reality they were around 500 handred person.

At the same day the regim showed onother tecnic to face the protestors in the square and to finish the square’s set-in. Handred of his supporter and the ruling party members come to the square looking for the fight. That’s what happened after they start attaking the protesters pushing them back by their horses and bastons.

Prime Minester Shafik apologized and promessed to conduct an investigation to discover who was behind it. He also defended Mubarak decisions to finish his term .

Mubarak supporters have surrounded the human rights activists and attaked the forieng media which filmed the events of the square.

The following days the tention continues to rise more and more the country entred in a serious of labour manifestations such as what happened in zuez canal zone when six thousand workers stopped working in steel factories. Then around 24.000 textile workers planned to strike in Mahalla. In Assyut 8000 protestors blocked the highway and the railroad to Cairo.

On 10th February, an army commander, named with Hassan Al-Roweni, told protestors in the Tahrir Square that “evry thing you want will be realized”. The tention and the anger of the protestors continued to rise, manefestations continued as usual.
In the military a top ranking officers threatened to quit and join the manifestators. And the situation were passing towards a bigining of a civil war.

On 10th February, the suprime council of the armed forces (SCAF) organized an urgent meeting to discuss Mubarak and his refuse to leave the office. The meeting was unusual meeting because , the supreme commander was absent. It was attended by the prime minister and the defence minister. The council diceded to put the military in charge of the government.

One day later the Vise president Suleiman announced that Mubarak had diceded to quiet as a president and mandate the SCAF to run the country. In Tahrir Square Protestors were celebrating. El Baradei Said :”it was the gratest day of my life”.

**The Libian Revolution:**

After the Tunisian Revolution and the new rise of the democracy and the Egyption revolution many analyzer and interested of the Arab world Started speaking about an Arab polpular political wake up Wich started from Tunisia on 17 December 2010 and and followed by similar events In Eygept to reach Libya and more other Arab countries.

Libyan Youyh, influenced by The left boarder neithbor country Tunisia the original country of the Arab waves of political changes and from the right Egypt wich alrady make an end to the long Tem system. Libyan wanted to make a political change. They started a peaceful manifestation to pressure Muammar Gaddafi to leave.

Muammer Gaddafi who ruled Libia for 42 year and he didn’t follow a usuall political system in the world by rejecting the western democracy by shelving the constitution, abolishing political parties and undermining civil society organizations. He instead used his own ideology, as it outlined in his Green Book, to restructure the state institutions. His Jamahiria system was based on direct rule by people’s committees in a complicated hierarchical system. In fact this system left the top of the power empty, allowing Gaddafi to rule without any kind of cheks and balances.

Gaddafi didn’t have an official post as a head of state, he took on an asolute power without being elected.

The Libian Ambassador To Washington, sad That:” Gaddafi had more power than any elected president or prime miniter. He believes he has no title, but in reality, nothing can be done without Gaddafi’s approval- Financially,politically and economicly.
The protestes of the Libian revolution started in mid-February 2011 quickly spread to the other cities and towns. This quick spread of the events has shoked all the follower. No one was expected that after the political change in Tunisia and Egypt will spread quickly to libia. Even Gaddafi wasn’t expected to be asked to leave the power.

Gaddafi ruled the country with an iron fist. He used all possible means to crash his enemies and to stay in power. He was setting all policies and making all decisions. He used the security forces to renforce and to protect his regime and eliminate anyone threat him. Gaddafi opposition were arrested and kept in jail for many years without trial or access to lawers.

In 1996, Gaddafi executed 1170 political prisoners at Abu Salim prisons in Tripoli were they executed by the hand grenades and machine guns.

I February 2006 demonstrations held in front of the Italian Consulate in Ben Ghazi to protest against the Italian minister Calderoli. Police used force to disperse the krowd, killing 10 people.

On 15 February 2011, demonstrations began in Benghazi the second largets city in the country, to protest the arrest of five human rights activists, Including Fathi Terbel who represented the families of those prisoners who had been massacred in prison in 1996. The protestors which were mainly members of Abu Salim presoneer’s families gather infront of the security headquarters to demand the release of these activists. An anti-government protestes spread to Baida and Zintan.

Benghazi leaders, used facebook and twitter such happened in Tunisia and Egypt to call for a nationwide manifestation day on 17 February 2011. The events that followed this date marked the begening of national revolution that was not ideological, religious, or sectarian and had no organization behind it.

Inspired by the previous two revolutions the Tunisian one and the Egyption the Libian youth diceded to try to push out their long term political system. There were a huge demonstrations in Benghazi, Ajdabia, Darna and Zenten. The protestors asked Gaddafi to leave the power and calling for radical political and economic reforms. The security forces opened fire on the protestors. Baida’s protestors where succeful when they took the control of a military base and controlled the town.

Gaddafi’s reaction was to fight back. He made let all know that his regim would not succumb to revolutionary rap songs, facebook pages ans non violent demonstration.
To avoid the world reaction, Gaddafi, kept the foreign media outside the country and shut down totally the internet services and cut totally the phone lines to prevent any contact with the outside world.

Gaddafi refered the Benghazi events to AL-Qaeda network addressing the families to didn’t let their children went out for protesting.

In Benghazi his forces used extrem power against the normal protestors opening the fire of machine guns towards the thousand of protestors killing hundreds of them. Other were killed were they was gathered in the funeral of those who were killed one day before. Many internet activests described the fighting between the government and the protestors like an open war zone.

According the medical resources that declared the victims and the injred was killed and injred by the use of heavy wepons.

The events in Benghazi started to go out of the controle and there were a smell of future civil war between the regim and the armed civilian.

Some protesters armed with rifles and home made bombs surrounded the military garrison in Benghazi for several days. A driver crashed his vehicle through the main gate giving the rebel access to the weapons depot and to the security buildings. On 20th February the rebel took controle of the city and the police deasappeared.

On 20 February the protestes reached for the fist time the capital Tripoli. The situation has become more and more dangerous. The Prime Minister Baghdadi Mahmoudi told the the Europeans Ambasadors in Lybia that there were plans to make a terrorist base in Lybia and he stressed that “the govetnment have had all the right to take all the measures to protect its unity”.

Gaddafi used tribal militia, African mercenaries to deal with the protestors. They used the machine guns tear of gaz and from the sky there were the hilocopters shooting protestors randomly. Recidents weare to afraid to leave their home because might be shooting by Gaddafi’s forces or followers.

In Tripoli the sitiation was getting worser. Gaddafi to armed all Libyans. He also offered to increase the government salaries by 150 per cent and to give 400 dollars for every family in the country. But his offres were too late. The armed situation disturbed several international politics.
The US president for example, Barack Obama, commented that:”the suffering and blood shed are outrageous unacceptable the Libyan government must be held accountable for its failure and face the cost of continued violations of human rights”.

The events kept going further, number of the military units switch sides and join the rebels. A group of army officers urged soldiars to join the people and help at the pushing out of Gaddafi. Two Air forces pilotes bailed out and crashed a fighter jet in the desert, two others scaped away with their airplaines to Malta insteade of bombarding the protesters. In adition to the military which they swished side and joind the rebels after Gaddafi’s extreme use of power against simple protesters, the list of those who left Gaddafi agmounts. This time Libian diplomats, including Ibrahim Dabbashi, deputy ambassador to the United Nations, Ambassador Aujali in Washington, and Ambassador Abdel Moneim Al-Houni to the Arab League in cairo resigned to isolate more Gaddafi’s system.

The list of the resigned grow up more and more This time come from inside the top list of the government of Gaddafi when the Justice Minister Mr Mustafa Abdel Jalil declared that he supports the revolution of the Libyan youth. Abdel Fatah Youness the, minister of Interior and an army general, resigned too after he heard that 300 hundred unarmed civilians has been killed in Benghazi alone during the last two days.

Benghazi has become a center to the uprising of the newly formed National Transitional Council (NTC), which was staffed by Gaddafi officials who swished sides in the early days of the uprising. Mr Abdel Jalil the former minister of justice become the head of the council and Mahmoud Jebral, the former head of the National Economic and Development Board; become the prime minister of the council.

Quickly the NTC get recognitions from abroad and become the face of the revolution like this took the leadership of the Libyan revolution. The NTC get boost when the French government become the first country to recognize the NTC and it send an ambassador to Benghazi.

The rebel leaded by the NTC gained control of several cities in the east, including Baida and Tobruk.

The peaceful lybian revolution has become now a civil war from one side there is Gaddafi regim and its followers and from the other side there are the rebels leaded by the NTC. The security of the civilian has become not guarented that what puched thousand of them to scape away from the
country. The major part of them scaped to Tunisia where the nearest contry to Libya where they were welcomed by the population and the government.

The fighting have spread to other three cities near Tripoli in the west. The rebels took over Zuwara, Zawiya and Surman.

On 25th February, Gaddafi forces recapture Surman and attacked the oil-refining town of Zawiya, killing 17 people and injuring 150 persons.

Gaddafi forces reinforced and constrained its presence in Tripoli, Gaddafi hang on in the powe by force and violence. However he lost contole of most of the eastern of the regions of the country to the rebel, who getting more stronger day after day specialy when Gaddafi unites of the desert join the rebels. The rest of the armed forces under Gaddafi contole scape away whenever it’s possible. Gaddafi still threaten all and shows that he still the Libyan shief by monstrating he controles the important and strategist cities of Lybia. But in fact he no longer controls the situation in Lybia.

The NATO intervention:

Gaddafi’s extream use of power towards civilians led Libya’s deputy ambassador to the UN Mr Dabbachi to ask the international community to intervene to controle Libya’s skies to stop the new weapons from reaching Gaddafi regim.

On 22nd of February the UN Security Council issued a statement condemning the violence in Libya. On the same day The Arab League, asked Libian government to ensure the delivry of emergency medical aid to the wounded. Three days later UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon tells that:” The violence in Libya must stop”.

In February, the dangerous and the incontrolled sitiation in Libya led more than 200 Arab organizations and several Arab intellectuals to urge international and regional organization to impose sanctions on the Libyan regime and to intervene to stop Gaddafi civilian killing.

Mr Abdel Rahman Mohamed Shalgam, the UN Ambassador, declared that Muammar Gaddafi’s plan was “Either I rule you or I kill you”

On 17th March, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1973, establishing a “no Fly Zone” over Libya and authoauthorizing the use of all necessary measures to protect Libyan civilian.
On 19 March 2011, one month after the revolution began; the NATO started its operation in Libya. France was the first to conduct the air strikes. With the coming of Britain and USA and in the period of three days NATO declares the destroying of all the government radars.

In June the NTC faced a financial crisis, because they didn’t have money and oil to sell because the energy infrastructure had been damaged.

By late June the fighting continued dividing the country into two big regions. A largely western region controlled by Gaddafi forces and eastern part controlled by the rebels. The conflict seems that not going to resolve or will take very long time. That’s what pushed the western countries to encourage the rebels to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict.

Negotiations between the NTC and Gaddafi government started had made no progress towards a political solution to resolve the conflict. This effort failed because Gaddafi refused to end his power. Gaddafi straight to the power left only the military option on the table.

The rebels were gaining ground. They were advancing in Nafusa Montains. In 15th August the rebels forces capture the town Garyan, a strategic town controlling all roads leading to the capital. Few day later rebelsions succeed againt to take the city Zenten a nearby city in the west of Tripoli.

On the 20th of August, clashes rised again between rebels and Gaddafi forces in Tajura and Souk al-Juma neighborhood cities in Tripoli.

In few days the Battle of Tripoli began the rebels reached the green square and rised the monarchy flag. Rebels didn’t found strong confrontations as they suspected.

Yet Gaddafi did not plan to go away even he lost Tripoli. He announced the beginning of a long struggle to defeat NATO and the traitors. He declared that: “Libya will burn”

The NTC fighters continued to fight the fights after Tripoli concentrated in Bani El Walid and Sirt two cities consederd very strategic because they are the gateway to the interior Lybian desert. Both cities were will armed and showed big resistense. The NTC commanders avoid the fight to avoiding more civillians and inflaming regional enmities. By September the fights still that’s what made the NATO forces to extend their operation for the second time too other 90 days.

After days of fire fitting Bani Walid was taking by the NTC forces on 17 October few days later Sirte was about to fall. On 20th of October 2011 Gaddafi tried to flee the city but was captured alive and quickly captured death by a group of The NTC fighters that arrested him.
The death of Gaddafi marked the end of his regime and the marked the country liberation. Lybians which suffered from its regime for long time gathered in the streets of the capital Tripoli not for manifestation but celebrate liberty and the end of the civilian war.

His death marked the beginning of hard work to destroy the old institutions and build a new infrastructure for democratic transition.

The Syrian revolution:

The events of the Syrian revolution have started among the waves of the political manifestations that started after the Tunisian revolution. As the Syrian share the same basic reasons which are led the youth in Tunisia and Egypt to revolt, the Syrian find their selves inside a revolution that will shift the general atmosphere of the country and to develop into a civil war.

Immideatly after the success of the Tunisian revolution and the the beginig days of the uprising events in Egypt, the Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad declared to the western midea that”Syria would not be the next” According to him, Syrian policy was very closely linked to the beliefs of the people, and he said that:”Syria is free from pollution and microbes”.

At the begening the Bachar’s prediction seems to be real. Until March 2011 there was nothing in Syria. The security forces quickly end any kind of protestes could happen.

During the Egyption revolution damascescene candlelight in support those which killed in the manifestation in Egypt was immediately broken up.

Other small demonstrations exprexed support for the Libian and the Egyption in their revolution were attended with small number of people broked fastly by the police.

How the events started in Syria?

The events started when a 15 school children arrested in Dara’s city close to the Jordanian Borders. The children were arrested by the police because they wanted to do what the manifestators in Tunisia and Egypt did, so they spray painting on the wall of the local school “The people demand the fall of the regim”, the children were beaten and brutally abused by the police.

When the children’s parents wented to the police asking to realese their children one of the official said:”forget your children. If you really want your children, you should make more children. If you don’t know how to make more children, we’ll show you how to do”.
It was a shocked story the people of Daraa refused to accept. On 18th March, thousands of protesters gathered at al-Omari Mosque and marched at security forces, demanding the immediate release of the children, political freedom and an end to the government corruption. When the police failed to stop the manifestators using the batons and water cannons, members of the security forces opened the fire killing four persons and injuring many of them.

The protestes at the following day spread to the other nearby towns of Jassem, Da’el, Sanamein and inkhil. The demonstration grew daily.

By the end of April 2011 Bachar al assad had run out from his patience specially when the manifestators response the regime with greater mobilization, like his father ordered the army forces to shoot with fire the protestors first in Daraa when the revolution started and then soon in the rest of the country. The regime appears the use of fire to some terrorists who were doing troubles. But the reality they was hundred of thousand of peaceful protestors.

The manifestations continued the regime deployed snipers on the hight building close to the demonstrations and used the Shabiha a secret forces groups to torture and kill protestors.

Not all the Syrian army was happy to kill unarmed civilians in cold blood. Despite the regime orders to execute any soldier refusing to fire on demonstrators’ news started to spread that there are some army leaders and soldiers left the Army to join the manifestators.

In 29th of July 2011, the Colonel Riad As’ad, along with several other officers, announced his defection and the formation of the free Syrian Army.

In a video shared in youtube As’ad the rest of the army forces to join him to creat army that can protect the revolution and all section of the Syrian people inorder to protect the regime that kills civilians.

The react of the Colonal Riad As’ad considered a changing point in the Syrian revolution. It was considered as the starting point of the armed struggle.

The Syrian Armed struggle has seen the establishment of diferent armed groups who start figting against each other to complicate the situation of Syria.
The different players of the Syrian civil war

Free Syrian Army:

The Free Syrian Army is a group of defected Syrian Armed Forces officers and soldiers founded during the beginning of the Syrian Civil War on 29 July 2011 by seven defected Syrian officers. The group goal is to protect civilian protestors from the regime extreme use of power and to participate in obliging the system to leave the precidency.

Jabhat al-Nusra:

A group of Islamist armed group formed in late 2011 knowing as the most handful Islamist groups. Jabhat al-Nusra has taken the responsibility of numerous bombing in Syria. The group conduct armed operation across all over the country. Jabhat al-Nusra composed from 6000 armed fighters.

Ahrar al Sham:

Ahrar Al Sham a collection of salafi group and conservative Islamist militia operating on the northern part of Syria. Ahrar al Sham has worked closely with both Jabhat al-Nusra and FSA. Ahrar al Sham is popular both on jihadi forums and battlefield. The majority of the foreing fighters in Syria fight under the banner of Ahrar al-Sham. The group has participated in large number of operations against regime forces.
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